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Sadržaj

Izvorni znanstveni radovi

- 5 ANDREJA KUDELIC
Kurilovec – Belinščica – bronzanodobno naselje u
Turopolju
- 53 IGOR KULENOVIC
Kasnobronzanodobno naselje Podgajac – Glogovica
kod Slavonskog Broda
- 89 MARIO GAVRANOVIC
ALEKSANDAR JASAREVIC
Neue Funde der Spätbronzezeit aus Nordbosnien
- 133 DARIA LOŽNJAK DIZDAR
PETRA RAJIC ŠIKANJIC
O pogrebnim običajima u 11. st. pr. Kr. na jugu
Karpatske kotline
(primjer: groblje u Slatini)
- 155 DRAGAN BOŽIČ
Graves from the Certosa Phase in Early Iron Age
Barrow 48 at Stična
- 171 TAJANA SEKELJ IVANČAN
TENA KARAVIDOVIĆ
Tkalački stan iz Virja
- 237 SILVIA BEKAVAC
ŽELJKO MILETIĆ
Stanovnicima Narone – *municipibus municipii*
- 247 JURAJ BELAJ
MARIJANA BELAJ
Prstenasti broš s natpisom iz templarske Gore –
prijedlog dekodiranja

Contents

Original scientific papers

- ANDREJA KUDELIC
*Kurilovec – Belinščica – A Bronze Age Settlement
in the Turopolje Region*
- IGOR KULENOVIC
*A Late Bronze Age Settlement Podgajac –
Glogovica near Slavonski Brod*
- MARIO GAVRANOVIC
ALEKSANDAR JASAREVIC
*Novi nalazi kasnoga bronzanog doba iz sjeverne
Bosne*
- DARIA LOŽNJAK DIZDAR
PETRA RAJIC ŠIKANJIC
*On Burial Practices in the Southern Carpathian
Basin in the 11th Century BC
(Case Study: Cemetery in Slatina)*
- DRAGAN BOŽIČ
*Grobovi certoškoga stupnja u
stariježeljeznodobnom tumulu 48 u Stični*
- TAJANA SEKELJ IVANČAN
TENA KARAVIDOVIĆ
A Loom from Virje
- SILVIA BEKAVAC
ŽELJKO MILETIĆ
To the Inhabitants of Narona – municipibus municipii
- JURAJ BELAJ
MARIJANA BELAJ
*An Inscribed Annular Brooch from the Templar Site of
Gora – A Possible Decipherment*

Prethodno priopćenje

- 271 IVOR KARAVANIĆ
NIKOLA VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ
NATALIJA ČONDIĆ
SLOBODAN MIKO
IVAN RAZUM
NIKOLINA ILIJANIĆ
KRUNOSLAV ZUBČIĆ
RAJNA ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ
JAMES C. M. AHERN
ANTONELA BARBIR
Projekt „Kasni musterijen na istočnom Jadranu – temelj za razumijevanje identiteta kasnih neandertalaca i njihovog nestanka”: sažetak 2. i 3. godine istraživanja

- 287 ANA GRABUNDŽIJA
CHIARA SCHOCH
AGATA ULANOWSKA
Kosti za tkalački stan. Eksperiment tkanja s astragalima

- 307 RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ
HRVOJE POTREBICA
NIKOLINA ŠAIĆ
ANTONELA BARBIR
Prilog poznavanju halštatskih pogrebnih običaja – arheobotanički nalazi tumula 13 i 14 iz Kaptola kraj Požege

Pregledni rad

- 317 AGATA ULANOWSKA
Towards Methodological Principles for Experience Textile Archaeology.
Experimental Approach to the Aegean Bronze Age Textile Techniques in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw

Recenzije

- 341 KREŠIMIR MIJIĆ
Aleksandra Nikoloska i Sander Müskens (eds.), Romanising Oriental Gods?, Međunarodni znanstveni skup Skopje, 18.–21. rujna 2013., Skopje, 2015, 440 str.

- 345 UPUTE AUTORIMA

Preliminary communication

- IVOR KARAVANIĆ
NIKOLA VUKOSAVLJEVIĆ
NATALIJA ČONDIĆ
SLOBODAN MIKO
IVAN RAZUM
NIKOLINA ILIJANIĆ
KRUNOSLAV ZUBČIĆ
RAJNA ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ
JAMES C. M. AHERN
ANTONELA BARBIR
Project Late Mousterian in the Eastern Adriatic – Towards Understanding of Late Neanderthals' Identity and Their Demise: Summary of the 2nd and 3rd Years of Research

- ANA GRABUNDŽIJA
CHIARA SCHOCH
AGATA ULANOWSKA
Bones for the Loom. Weaving Experiment with Astragali Weights

- RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ
HRVOJE POTREBICA
NIKOLINA ŠAIĆ
ANTONELA BARBIR
A Contribution to the Understanding of Hallstatt Burial Customs – Archaeobotanical Evidence from Tumuli 13 and 14 at the Site of Kaptol, near Požega

Report

- AGATA ULANOWSKA
Prilozi metodološkim principima u iskustvenoj tekstilnoj arheologiji.
Eksperimentalni pristup tekstilnim tehnikama bronzanog doba Egeje na Institutu za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Varšavi

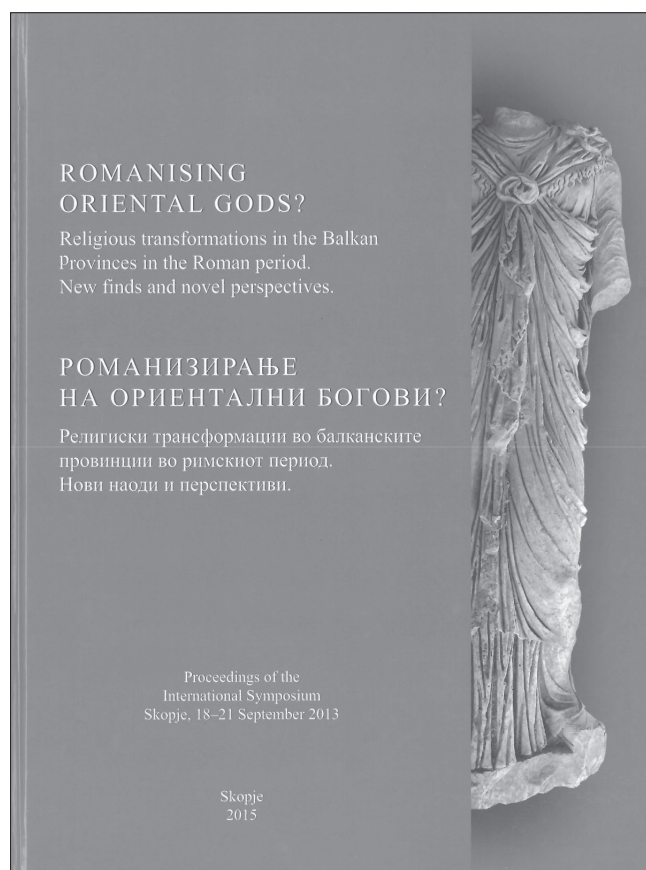
Book reviews

- KREŠIMIR MIJIĆ
Aleksandra Nikoloska and Sander Müskens, Romanising Oriental Gods?, International Symposium Skopje, 18–21 September 2013, Skopje, 2015, 440 p.

- GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Aleksandra Nikoloska i Sander Müskens (eds.), Romanising Oriental Gods?, Međunarodni znanstveni skup Skopje, 18.–21. rujna 2013., Skopje, 2015, 440 str.

Aleksandra Nikoloska and Sander Müskens, Romanising Oriental Gods?, International Symposium Skopje, 18–21 September 2013, Skopje, 2015, 440 p.



Godine 2013. u Skoplju je održan međunarodni simpozij o romanizaciji orijentalnih bogova u središtu Balkana. Na simpoziju su sudjelovali znanstvenici iz nekoliko europskih zemalja uključujući i Hrvatske. Simpozij je održan od 18. do 21. rujna 2013. u Skoplju u Makedonskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti. Održan je uz suradnju Sveučilišta u Leidenu, Sveučilišta u Toulouseu i Makedonske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, s ciljem prezentiranja starijih i novijih rezultata istraživanja provedenih na području jugoistočne Europe, prije svega na teritoriju današnje Makedonije.

Knjiga je vizualno lijepo oblikovana. Omot je tvrd, sive boje, s prikazom statue božice Izide na naslovnoj stranici pronađene tijekom istraživanja Izydina hrama u Stobiju. Obiluje kvalitetnim fotografijama, ilustracijama te karta-

In 2013, an international symposium on the subject of 'Romanization of Oriental gods in the centre of the Balkans' was held in Skopje. The symposium was attended by scholars from several European countries, including Croatia. The symposium was held in Skopje at the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, from 18th to 21st September 2013. It was held in cooperation with the University of Leiden, University of Toulouse and the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, with the aim of presenting the old and new results of research carried out in south-eastern Europe, primarily in the territory of the present-day Macedonia.

The book is visually well designed. The cover is hard, grey, depicting on the cover page the statue of Isis that was found during the excavation of the temple of Isis in Stobi. It abounds with quality photographs, illustrations and maps of important sites in South-eastern Europe, mentioned in the papers as well. First few pages contain names of scientific institutions that have collaborated in the organization of the symposium. This is followed by the content listing names of participants and their works. The book is divided in two parts. The first part (*Theoretical reflections on the understanding of Oriental cults in the Roman World*) discusses theoretical considerations on the understanding of Oriental cults of the Roman world. The second part (*Case studies: understanding les cultes orientaux in the Roman Balkan provinces*) discusses each of these Oriental cults in the Balkans individually. This collection of papers ends with a brief epilogue about the symposium.

After the preface and the list of abbreviations, we follow two essays that serve as an introduction to this issue, reason the subject and clarify why the symposium was held in Skopje. In the chapter written by Laurent Bricault (*Cultes orientaux, égyptiens, alexandrins, osiriens, isiaques, ...: identités plurielles et interpretationes variae*, p. 19–27) he provides a modern overview of the various, sometimes contradicting, approaches that have emerged in the study of oriental cults. In her introduction (*Les cultes orientaux dans la Haute Macedonia, leur survie et leur adaption au temps Romain*, p. 35–73) Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova notifies that the Roman and oriental cults in the inland of Macedonia during the Roman times differ from the rest of the Roman Empire. That means, first of all, a detailed analysis of archaeological ma-

ma važnih nalazišta na području jugoistočne Europe koja se spominju u zborniku. Na prvim stranicama označene su znanstvene institucije koje su surađivale u organizaciji simpozija. Nakon toga slijedi sadržaj s imenima sudionika te naslovima njihovih radova. Knjiga je podijeljena u dva dijela. Prvi dio (*Theoretical reflections on the understanding of Oriental cults in the Roman World*) raspravlja o teorijskim razmatranjima u poznavanju orijentalnih kultova rimskog svijeta. Drugi dio (*Case studies: understanding les cultes orientaux in the Roman Balkan provinces*) raspravlja pojedinačno o orijentalnim kultovima na Balkanu. Zbornik završava kratkim epilogom o održanom simpoziju.

Nakon predgovora i popisa kratica, slijede dva eseja koja služe kao uvod u problematiku i razloge zašto je održan skup u Skoplju. U poglavlju Laurent Bricault (*Cultes orientaux, égyptiens, alexandrins, osiriens, isiaques, ...: identités plurielles et interpretationes variae*, str. 19–27) pruža se moderan pogled na različite, ponekad suprotne, pristupe koji su se pojavili u proučavanju orijentalnih kultova. U svom uvodu (*Les cultes orientaux dans la Haute Macédonie, leur survie et leur adoption au temps romain*, str. 35–73) Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova upozorava nas da se rimski i orijentalni kultovi u unutrašnjosti Makedonije u rimsko doba razlikuju od ostalog dijela Rimskog Carstva. On podrazumijeva, u prvom redu, detaljnu analizu arheološkog materijala i konteksta u kojem je pronađen kako bi se bolje razumjele specifičnosti rimskog i orijentalnog u balkanskim provincijama. Članci Laurent Bricault i Vere Bitrakove Grozdanove napisani su na francuskom s prijevodom na makedonski jezik.

Prvi dio zbornika sadrži pet radova o teorijskim razmatranjima u poznavanju orijentalnih kultova rimskog svijeta. U njima se prikazuje kako se današnje rasprave reflektiraju na Cumonovu teoriju o orijentalnim religijama. Prvi rad Eve M. Mol (*Romanising Oriental cults? A cognitive approach to alterity and religious experience in the Roman cults of Isis*, str. 89–113) predstavlja ključni problem simpozija u Skoplju. Autorica raspravlja o tome kako pristupiti proučavanju orijentalnih kultova. Treba li orijentalne kultove shvatiti u formi romaniziranih orijentalnih bogova ili bi se odnose između rimskog i orijentalnog trebalo shvatiti kao orijentaliziranje rimskih bogova? Nakon rada Eve M. Mol, Eleni Tsatsou (*“Φυλακτήρια πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος”: the use of amulets in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Macedonia*, str. 113–132) raspravlja o upotrebi amuleta u grčko-rimskoj i kasnoantičkoj Makedoniji. Autorica se bazirala ponajprije na amulete koji su pronađeni u arheološkim istraživanjima *in situ*. Amuleti joj pomažu da sazna više informacija o ljudima koji su ih nosili, njihovim problemima, njihovim motivima i potrebama za takvim predmetima kako bi bacila novo svjetlo na svakodnevni vjerski život antičkih Makedonaca. Steven Hijmans u svom radu (*Competence and communication in Roman provincial art: the semantics of the “cookie-dough” style of small marble votive plaques in the Danube region*, str. 133–148) raspravlja o malom mramornom reljefu i problemima s kojima se susrećemo pri proučavanju stilova tih predmeta. Dilyana Boteva raspravlja o nekim ikonografskim zapažanjima Sabazijeva kulta (*Romanising an Oriental God? Some iconographic observations*

terial and the context in which they were found in order to better understand the specifics of what is Roman and what is oriental in the provinces of Balkans. Articles of Laurent Bricault and Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova were written in French containing also Macedonian translation.

The first part of the collection of papers contains five papers of theoretical reflections on the understanding of Oriental cults in the Roman world. They show us how today's debates reflect on the Cumonov's theory about oriental religions. The first work of Eve M. Mol (*Romanising Oriental cults? A cognitive approach to alterity and religious experience in the Roman cults of Isis*, p. 89–113) presents a key problem for discussion during symposium in Skopje. The author discusses how to approach the study of oriental cults. Should oriental cults be reflected in the form of Romanised oriental gods, or should all the relations between the Roman and Oriental be taken as an orientalisation of Roman gods. After the work of Eve M. Mol, Eleni Tsatsou in her work (*“Φυλακτήρια πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος”: the use of amulets in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Macedonia*, p. 113–132) discusses the use of amulets in Greco-Roman and Late Antique Macedonia. The author primarily focused on the amulets which have been found in archaeological excavations *in situ*. The amulets helped her to discover more about the people who wore them, their problems, their motives and the need for owning those amulets in order to give a new light on the daily religious life of the ancient Macedonians. In his work *Competence and communication in Roman provincial art: the semantics of the “cookie-dough” style of small marble votive plaques in the Danube region*, p. 133–148, Steven Hijmans discusses the marble relief and problems encountered while studying the styles of these items. Dilyana Boteva discusses some iconographic observations on the cult of Sabazius (*Romanising Oriental God? Some iconographic observations on Sabazius*, p. 149–166). Her work gives us an insight to the origin and meaning of gestures that were attributed to Sabazios and Heros from Thrace during the late antiquity. The origin of these gestures and their significance is traced from the territory of Assyria and northern Syria. The last, fifth work in the first part of this book is the work of Periklo Christodoulou about Sarapis, Isis and the Emperor (*Sarapis, Isis and the Emperor*, p. 167–213). The author examines the inscriptions dedicated to Sarapis and Isis for the Emperor's health. These inscriptions include dedications in altars and temples of senior commanders and the local elite. The author comes to the conclusion that this form of dedication is a religious and political act and does not necessarily include the worship of the emperor *per se*.

The second part of the book contains papers written by eleven authors discussing oriental cults in the Balkans. The purpose of these works is a better understanding of oriental cults in the local context. The papers are based on the archaeological material and historical documents, including also the material that was not published. The works are written in English to make it accessible to a wider circle of readers and students about the topic being discussed. This collection of papers contains also the works of four Croatian

on Sabazius, str. 149–166). Riječ je o podrijetlu i značenjima gesta koji se pripisuju Sabaziju i Tračkom Herosu za vrijeme kasne antike. Podrijetlo tih gesta i njihovo značenje traži na teritoriju Asirije i sjeverne Sirije. Posljedni, peti rad u prvom dijelu zbornika jest rad Periklesa Christodouloua o Serapisu, Izidi i caru (*Sarapis, Isis and the Emperor*, str. 167–213). Autor raspravlja o natpisima posvećenim Serapisu i Izidi za carevo zdravlje. Riječ je o dedikacijama oltara i hramova visokih zapovjednika i lokalne elite. Autor dolazi do zaključka da je taj oblik dedikacije vjerski i politički čin i ne mora značiti štovanje cara *per se*.

U drugom dijelu zbornika nalaze se radovi jedanaest autora u kojima se raspravlja o orijentalnim kultovima na Balkanu. Svrha radova jest bolje poznavanje orijentalnih kultova u lokalnom kontekstu. Radovi se baziraju na arheološkom materijalu i povijesnim izvorima, uključujući onaj materijal koji je nepubliciran. Radovi su na engleskom jeziku kako bi bili pristupačni širem krugu čitatelja i proučavatelja teme o kojoj se raspravlja. Među njima nalaze se radovi četvero hrvatskih znanstvenika, prof. dr. sc. Željka Miletića sa Sveučilišta u Zadru, Ante Rendić-Miočevića iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Palma Karković Takalić sa Sveučilišta u Rijeci i Inge Vilogorac Brčić s Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Oni su na simpoziju predstavili svoja razmatranja orijentalnih kultova na istočnoj obali Jadrana i unutrašnjosti. Prof. Željko Miletić u svom radu (*Identification of Oriental figures depicted on military stelae from Tilurium workshop*, str. 357–370) piše o reljefnim ukrasima na vojnim stelama iz tilurijske radionice. Te su stele prepoznatljive po naglašenim ikonografskim elementima vojničkog karaktera te velikim vratima koja zauzimaju donji dio spomenika. Palma Karković Takalić u svom radu (*Presence of the archigalli on the Eastern Adriatic Coast. Examination of their role in the cult of Magna Mater and Attis*, str. 371–390) piše o arhigalima na istočnoj jadranskoj obali te njihovoj ulozi u kultu Magne Matris i Atisa. Autorica prezentira nove analize dvaju natpisa iz Jadera i Aegide na kojima se spominju arhigali. Inga Vilogorac Brčić raspravlja o dendroforima kolonije Pule (*Dendrophori of Colonia Pola*, str. 391–403). Javljaju se na nekoliko natpisa koji se datiraju u prva tri stoljeća po Kr., te autorica dolazi do zaključka da su dendrofori u službi Velike Majke Kibeke bili istaknuta zajednica u koloniji Puli. Ante Rendić-Miočević u svom se radu (*Monuments of the Mithraic cult in the territory of Arupium (Dalmatia)*, str. 403–426) posvetio spomenicima mitričkog kulta na teritoriju Arupija. Pozornost je usmjerio na dva mitreja koji se nalaze uklesani u stijene, jedan u Špiljničkom polju, a drugi se nalazi na Rajanovu griču te na dva moguća svetišta posvećena Mitri.

Osim gore navedenih autora, u drugom dijelu zbornika svoj su doprinos poznavanju orijentalnih kultova dali Silvana Blaževska i Jovan Radnjanski koji donose rezultate istraživanja Izidina hrama u Stobiju (*The temple of Isis at Stobi*, str. 215–256) popraćene izvrsnim fotografijama nalazišta, tlocrtima hrama i katalogom nalaza kojima lokalitet obiluje. Aleksandra Nikoloska govori općenito o orijentalnim kultovima iz Republike Makedonije bazirajući se na arheološkom materijalu (*Evidence of "Oriental" cults from the Republic of Macedonia*, str. 257–278). Rad je popraćen kvalitetnim foto-

scholars, Professor Željko Miletić from the University of Zadar, Ante Rendić-Miočević from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Palma Karković Takalić from the University of Rijeka and Inga Vilogorac Brčić from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. At the symposium they have presented their observations about the Oriental cults on the east Adriatic coast and inland. Prof. Željko Miletić in his work (*Identification of Oriental figures depicted on military stelae from Tilurium workshop*, p. 357–370) writes about relief ornaments on military stelae from the Tilurium workshop. These stelae are recognized by prominent iconographic elements having military character and large doors that occupy the lower part of the monument. In her paper Palma Karković Takalić (*Presence of the archigalli on the Eastern Adriatic Coast. Examination of their role in the cult of Magna Mater and Attis*, p. 371–390) writes about archigalli on the eastern Adriatic coast and their role in the cult of Magna Matris and Attis. The author presents a new analysis of two inscriptions from Jadera and Aegida where archigalli were mentioned. Inga Vilogorac Brčić discusses dendrophori of colonia Pola (*Dendrophori of Colonia Pola*, p. 391–403). They appear in several inscriptions which date back to the first three centuries AD and she concludes that dendrophori in the service of the Great Mother Cybele were a prominent community in the colony Pula. Ante Rendić-Miočević dedicated his work (*Monuments of the Mithraic cult in the territory of Arupium (Dalmatia)*, p. 403–426) to the monuments of Mithraic cult in the territory of Arupium (Dalmatia). Attention is focused on two Mithras' sanctuaries that are carved in the rock, one in Špiljničko polje, the other on Rajanov grič and on two other possible shrines dedicated to Mithras.

Apart from the above authors, in the second part of the book a great contribution to the understanding of Oriental cults was also made by Silvana Blaževska and Jovan Radnjanski who both presented results of the excavation of the temple of Isis at Stobi (*The Temple of Isis at Stobi*, p. 215–256) accompanied by excellent photographs of sites, layouts of temple and a catalogue of findings in which this site abounds. Aleksandra Nikoloska speaks generally about oriental cults in the Republic of Macedonia based on archaeological material (*Evidence of "Oriental" cults from the Republic of Macedonia*, p. 257–278). The work is accompanied by high-quality photographs of inscriptions and sculptures. Slavica Babamova discusses epigraphic traces of oriental influences in Upper Macedonia during the Roman times (*Epigraphic traces of Oriental influences and Upper Macedonia in Roman times*, p. 279–292). She mentions two groups of inscriptions associated with cults dating back to the second and third century after Christ. The first group of inscriptions belongs to the Jewish community in Stobi, and the second group consists of votive reliefs dedicated to Zeus, Hera and Heros. She concludes that the cults present in the pre-Roman period were accepted by the settlers, which opens a new perspective in the process of Romanization and orientalization. This work is also accompanied by excellent photographs of the inscriptions. Lenče Jovanova (*On some of the Oriental cults in the Skopje-Kumanovo region*, p. 293–322) analyses some aspects of oriental cults associated with na-

grafijama natpisa i skulptura. Slavica Babamova raspravlja o epigrafskim tragovima orijentalnih utjecaja u Gornjoj Makedoniji za vrijeme rimske uprave (*Epigraphic traces of Oriental influences in Upper Macedonia in Roman times*, str. 279–292). Spominje dvije skupine natpisa povezanih s kultovima datiranih u drugo i treće stoljeće po Kr. Prva grupa natpisa pripada židovskoj zajednici u Stobiju, a druga su grupa votivni reljefi posvećeni Zeusu, Heri i Herosu. Zaključuje da su kultovi prisutni u predrimskom vremenu prihvaćeni od strane doseljenika što otvara nove poglede u procesu romanizacije i orijentalizacije. Rad je također popraćen izvrsnim fotografijama natpisa. Lenče Jovanova (*On some of the Oriental cults in the Skopje-Kumanovo region*, str. 293–322) analizira neke aspekte orijentalnih kultova povezanih s prirodom, ikonografijom, trajanjem, štovateljima i infiltracijama orijentalnih vjerovanja prakticiranih na području između Skoplja i Kumanova. Vladimir P. Petrović daje svoj doprinos u poznavanju kulta Jupitera Dolihena u Gornjoj Meziji (*The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Moesia Superior: mining aspects*, str. 323–332). Govori o štovateljima kulta Jupitera Dolihena koji pripadaju različitim kategorijama društva, a pozornost je usmjerio na štovatelje koji su povezani s rudarenjem u rudarskim područjima Gornje Mezijske. Nadežda Gavrilović raspravlja o kultovima iz Male Azije i Sirije i njihovim glavnim osobinama na teritoriju središnjeg Balkana za vrijeme rimske vladavine (*Asia Minor and Syrian cults and their main traits in the territory of the Central Balkans*, str. 333–356). Oni su imali važno mjesto u duhovnoj kulturi romanizirane populacije. Svrha rada jest isticanje njihove važnosti koje je, zajedno s učenjem filozofije u drugom i trećem stoljeću po Kr., omogućilo njihovo širenje u rimskim provincijama središnjeg Balkana.

Na kraju zbornika nalazi se epilog (*Epilogue: Eastern Provinces With Oriental Gods?*, str. 427–436). Epilog su u koautorstvu napisali Laurent Bricault, Sander Müskens i Miguel John Versluys. U njemu se ukratko prepričava sva problematika prezentirana u zborniku, radovi te koji je doprinos svakog rada i znanstvenika koji se bave proučavanjem orijentalnih kultova.

Simpozij koji je održan u Skoplju 2013. godine, a koji je publiciran u obliku zbornika radova sudionika simpozija, umnogome doprinosi boljem proučavanju religije i vjerovanja u rimskom svijetu. Nama je zanimljiv stoga što su na njemu sudjelovali naši znanstvenici i dali svoj doprinos proučavanju rimskih i orijentalnih religija, a mi smo bolje upoznati s područjem jugoistočne Europe, ponajprije današnje Republike Makedonije i tamošnjim bogatstvom arheoloških materijala koje nam daje bolji uvid u poznavanje vjerovanja rimskog svijeta, prije svega orijentalnih kultova. U proučavanju i analizi arheološkog materijala koristio se moderan pristup i suvremena tehnologija, a radovi su popraćeni, tamo gdje je potrebno, kvalitetnim fotografijama bez kojih niti jedan rad koji govori o pojedinom arheološkom materijalu nije ozbiljan rad. Upravo zbog gore navedenih razloga, ovaj zbornik preporučujem svima koji se zanimaju za orijentalne kulture, a pogotovo onima koji se bave znanstvenim proučavanjem teme i problematike zbog koje je održan simpozij jer pruža obilje novih podataka i uključuje suvremeni pristup u proučavanju te teme.

ture, iconography, duration, worshipers and infiltrations of oriental beliefs practiced in the area between Skopje and Kumanovo. Vladimir P. Petrović gives his public contribution to the knowledge of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Moesia Superior (*The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Moesia Superior: mining aspects*, p. 323–332). He speaks about worshipers of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus who belong to different categories of society, directing his attention towards worshipers who are associated with mining in the mining areas of Moesia Superior. Nadežda Gavrilović discusses cults from Asia Minor and Syria and their main traits in the territory of the Central Balkans during the Roman Empire (*Asia Minor and Syrian cults and their main traits in the territory of the Central Balkans*, p. 333–356). They had an important role in the spiritual culture of the Romanised population. The purpose of the paper is to highlight their importance, which together with the teaching of philosophy during the second and third century after Christ facilitated their expansion in the Roman provinces of the Central Balkans.

At the end of this collection of papers is an epilogue (*Epilogue: Eastern Provinces With Oriental Gods?*, p. 427–436). The epilogue is written in co-authorship by Laurent Bricault, Sander Müskens and Miguel John Versluys. It briefly recounts all the problems presented in the book, exalting the contribution of each work and scientists' dedication to the study of oriental cults.

The symposium, which was held in Skopje in 2013, and which was published in the form of a collection of papers written by participants who attended the symposium, greatly contributes to a better study of religion and belief in the Roman world. Moreover, it is interesting for us because of our Croatian scientists who were also engaged and have given their considerable contribution to the study of Roman and Oriental religion. That is why we are better acquainted with the area of Southeast Europe, primarily with the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia and with the local wealth of archaeological material that gives us a better insight into the beliefs of the Roman world, primarily oriental cults. Modern approach and modern technology were used during the study and analysis of archaeological material, and the works are accompanied, where necessary, with high-quality photos without which no work that speaks about a particular archaeological material would be taken seriously. Just because of the above reasons, I recommend this collection of papers to anyone who is interested in oriental cults, especially those who are engaged in the scientific study of this topic and issues, discussed also in the symposium, because it provides an abundance of new data and includes a modern approach to the study of this topic.

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